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by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a common tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

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were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 346.

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177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
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But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[455] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] [113] [127] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 181. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

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After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for grazing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to improve their farms. They had not yet learned the value of

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 284.
8. Ibid.
9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1930 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1930.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

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Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise.

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-310.

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427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken 427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians 434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with 465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income. 464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut 465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the 434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

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ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provisions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

The government policy of making farmers of the Indians has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements. In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

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to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, sec. II, 10, 11.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certainly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or $200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Anadarko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic-

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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor. and the prisoners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was distributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.